

A NATIONAL DISASTER

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (Fortnightly)

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VOL. 12
No. 4

7th OCTOBER '78
SATURDAY

PRICE 30 P.
Air Surcharge 4 P.

What has been happening in West Bengal in the last few weeks in the shape of a fourth successive wave of flash floods covering an area of about 36,000 square miles and not less than 20 million people in twelve out of sixteen districts is not anything short of a national disaster. Concrete facts and events as to the real causes of flooding of such large areas as also the manner in which the enormity of the problem is being posed but is tackled in a different way by the governments at the Centre and in the State, call for some very serious and pertinent questions if public accountability of the governments has any meaning in a civil society.

First, truly, there has been a record heavy rainfall for consecutive days since 26th September, but is it a fact that flooding of vast areas in twelve districts, water logging, breaches in dams and barrages etc, all these damnest things, were due only to heavy rainfall? Is it not a fact that the misery was compounded much more by unprecedented heavy discharge at short notice, or with no notice, of 5,00,000 cusecs from DVC, Mayurakshi, Durgapur, Tilpara, Panchet, Masanjore etc. dams and barrages all at a time or in quick sequence? Is it not a fact that not only the rainfall but this unique combination of heavy rainfall with such heavy discharge of waters from barrages was matchless and unprecedented? And this combination of heavy rainfall with heavy discharge of waters without previous warning and precautionary arrangements by the government—was it for the first time in a single season or was it being repeated in the last weeks for the fourth successive occasion?

Are not the people, therefore, within their right to ask the government as to what precautionary steps and measures they took after the earlier experiences? In particular, is it not relevant to ask as to what were the topics of discussions the Chief Minister had in several rounds with DVC chairman and the DM's in the wake of earlier occasions of flash floods in the five districts? Did not the meteorological reports were giving the warnings about record heavy rainfall, and cyclone? What steps and precautionary measures the government

instructed both the barrage authorities and local administrations to take for serving timely notice to the people and for the removal of these millions of resourceless poor people to safer places for temporary shelter? Our Party comrades engaged in relief and rescue operation in Midnapur district met, long before the present floods, the district administration and even the commissioner of Burdwan when he came on a visit demanding that precautionary measures

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should be taken for removal of the people who were within the zones of different barrages to safer places as discharge of waters by the dams was almost a certainty. What

did the government do in this regard? Are not concrete facts telling an entirely different tale of gross administrative failure to act with speed and efficiency? What is the meaning of public accountability of a government in a civil society, if it fails to discharge this very primary obligation to the people that it should bear? What difference there actually remains if millions of people are to be in a state of abject dependence on nature although they are supposed to be in a civil society for the upkeep of which they are paying hundreds of crores of rupees from their state of existence in a primitive society? Is not therefore the demand for a national probe not only into the causes of the disaster of this magnitude but also into the very functioning of the projects built up at a cost of thousands of crores of public money with the ostensible purpose of flood controlling, a very just and reasonable demand? Can anybody having the modicum of the sense of public cause oppose this demand? At least, we expect to see that a party claiming to be 'Marxist' and a government supposed

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SUCI Protests against firing and killing of flood victims

Calcutta, Oct. 5:

Protesting strongly against the firing and killing of hungry flood victims by the police of the 'Left Front' Government, Com. Sukomal Das Gupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of our Party has issued the following statement to the Press:

The killing of hungry flood victims, at least four in number, at Beldanga, Murshidabad, by the police of the 'Left Front' Government in indiscriminate, inhuman and merciless firing of 32 rounds for alleged looting of relief materials only speaks of the typical anti-people and despotic nature of the Government

that goes by the name of 'Left Front' led by the CPI(M). It is a pity that this Government has rejected all suggestions of the Opposition parties to form an all-party committee for ensuring cooperation among all forces irrespective of political opinion and belief, which is necessary to meet the challenge of this grave situation, and it is out to cover up its abject failure by painting the issue as one of law and order and deliberately posing the flood victims as anti-socials. We strongly protest this atrocity let loose by the 'Left Front' Government on the helpless poor people of West Bengal.

Comrade Ashit Bhattacharya Secretary, Assam State Committee, Urges To Stop Provincial Frenzy

The Assam State Committee of the SUCI in the course of a statement issued to the Press on 20th September has expressed a grave concern over the latest outbreak of communal conflict in Assam. The statement notes that certain reactionary political forces in connivance with the ruling class have been systematically conducting for a long time a vicious campaign with an ulterior motive to incite one section of people against another section and that in their bid to rouse communal passion they have raised a bogey that lakhs of people are entering Assam everyday both from other provinces and from neighbouring countries thus bringing in its wake extreme economic hardship and suffering to the local people causing serious imbalance in the composition of population which in its turn, according to them, would destroy not only the linguistic status of Assamese as the principal language of the State but would also result in the loss of identity of the Assamese people. Pointing out the gross exaggeration and unjustified nature of this campaign, the statement notes that notwithstanding the falsity of this war-cry there can be no denying the fact that this determined campaign which has been deliberately designed as a cover for rousing communal passion has confused, even if temporarily, some well intentioned people of Assam.

The statement notes with satisfaction that the democratic minded right thinking people of the State have firmly come out against these acts of vandalism, but expresses its indignation that the administrative machinery remains not only callous and indifferent but also unduly soft towards the riot-making forces. The State Committee therefore demands sterner administrative measures against the riot-makers and appeals to the saner section to close up their ranks which is the only hope before the people.

The State Committee of the Party has expressed grave anxiety over the fact that while in the last few years the people of Assam, irrespective of race language and religion, had been engaged in developing united democratic mass-movements with a view to solving the burning problems confronting their lives and whereas in the face of greater political and economic crisis which has engulfed the entire country, the task of building up mightier mass movements, especially against price rise and in support of rapid industrialization of the State has assumed greater urgency, just at that time this attempt of the anti-people reactionary forces to provoke a fratricidal conflict is nothing but a premeditated attack upon the very cause of the democratic movement.

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The Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference—A Review

The first meeting of the Non-aligned Foreign Ministers since the fifth Non-aligned Summit Conference held in Colombo in 1976 was held at Belgrade from the 25th August to 29th August. This year eighty-six member countries, 10 nations and 12 organisations attended the said meeting. Djibouti was admitted as a new member and Pakistan and San Marino were guests. Among the member countries Chile was the notable absentee.

After deliberations for long five days which most often were transformed into acrimonious exchanges between the participating nations generating heat and tension to such an extent that some apprehended that the Conference might break in disarray, it finally adopted an 80 page declaration and a programme of action for mutual co-operation between the non-aligned and developing countries.

The declaration noted that the non-aligned movement should be "actively fighting imperialism, racism, including both apartheid and Zionism, exploitation, the policy of force and all forms of foreign domination and hegemony". It further proclaimed that "the policy of blocs and military alliances is resolutely rejected as are all policies directed towards dividing the world into spheres of influence".

The document also detailed the approach of the non-aligned movement to liberation struggles all over the world, the West Asian problem, the Indian Ocean, Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the question of peaceful reunification of Korea, Eastern Timor and disarmament problem, etc.

It is not unlikely that such a conference, which perhaps appropriately has been termed by many as the "United Nations General Assembly in microcosm" and where countries with different and even diametrically opposite political and social setup participate, would become ridden with bitter disputes centring round various issues of cross-interests. Judged in this context, this conference

might be recorded as one among the more heated ones in the history of the non-aligned movement. But what was so long unprecedented in non-aligned conference was that this time the countries commonly recognised as pro-Soviet were found to be engaged in bitter exchange with a section of the countries which consider the People's Republic of China as a trusted friend of the peoples engaged in anti-imperialist struggle for bringing an end to all sorts of colonialism, hegemonism and exploitation. While criticising these latter nations and blaming them as 'new Mandarins of Peking', some of the former countries were found to be making even a naked attempt to place China at par with the imperialist powers.

This apart, what is quite likely to draw the attention of the anti-imperialist freedom-loving peoples of the world who desire to see the non-aligned countries united on a common platform to fight against imperialism—their common enemy—is the fact that this time a large number of participating nations were found to be highly apprehensive of Soviet hegemonism. The criticism which most of them including Somalia, a friend of the Soviet Union till the other day, directed against Cuba which was called as a Soviet 'proxy' by some, or 'surrogate', or a Soviet 'Trojan horse', particularly for its role in Africa, was no doubt a reflection of this apprehension on their part. Some of them had in fact labeled Soviet hegemonism same as imperialism.

Now, to have a correct

appraisal of this situation and of the reasons underlying this unprecedented developments within the non-aligned movement, we think one must have, at the very beginning, a correct and objective understanding regarding the genesis and role and significance of the non-aligned movement vis-a-vis the attitude of the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, to these countries and their way of handling the existing contradiction between these countries and the socialist countries on the one hand and between these nations and the capitalist-imperialist camp on the other hand.

Since the termination of the Second World War, with the emergence of the world socialist camp in opposition to the world capitalist-imperialist camp, the supremacy of the imperialist powers declined to a great extent. In such a situation, the anti-imperialist national liberation struggles in the colonies and semi-colonies which were intensifying every day, resulted in the liberation of a large number of colonial and semi-colonial countries from imperialist rule and acceleration of national independence.

The aspirant national bourgeoisie, the class in power in most of these resurgent nationalist countries, after gaining their independence soon engaged themselves in building up a powerful national capitalist economy in their respective countries by coming out from the jack-boot of imperialism.

In their bid to develop their economy, the national bourgeoisie of these countries found it more expeditious not to depend exclusively on either of the camps. This enhanced their bargaining power—by utilising which to the utmost they desired to secure maximum help from each of the two

camps.

So, the non-aligned policy aimed at developing the economy of the resurgent nationalist countries by taking aid from both the camps, but without identifying with any of them. Its foundation was laid in the first Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung in 1955. This was how the non-aligned movement as it is now called first made its appearance in the arena of global politics.

Now, since their first emergence as sovereign national States, some of them have consolidated their national capitalist economy, given birth to monopoly and finance capital as also to financial oligarchy, and through export of capital have already acquired imperialist features, though very weak in comparison to the imperialist countries of the West. As a consequence, they are themselves showing growing signs of imperialism and expansionism. So also there is an increasing tendency toward fascization and appearance of fascist characteristics in diverse forms in the State structure and administrative setup of these countries.

Since these countries have already given birth to finance capital which is being exported to foreign markets they have already appeared as significant competitors to the traditionally powerful imperialist-capitalist countries in the world capitalist market.

So, in the economic field a growing antagonistic contradiction between them is manifesting itself. But in the political arena, the national bourgeoisie of these countries, are drawing themselves closer to the ruling circles of the powerful imperialist-capitalist countries as they have already acquired imperialist features, and are driven by the fear complex of proletarian revolution in their respective countries.

So, for obvious reasons, they are now playing

more and more in the role of agents of world imperialism-capitalism, particularly in Asia and Africa, by forcibly suppressing the growth and development of revolutionary struggles. Long before, in 1960, it was **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, one of the greatest Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era, who first cautioned us on this aspect of the growing reactionary character of these resurgent nationalist countries.

Again, we would like to remind further what **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** had observed on many occasions in this regard.

Comrade Ghosh said that the increasing political affinity of the national bourgeoisie of these resurgent nationalist countries with imperialism as such is no indication that they are satellite to foreign imperialist powers, as much as their growing antagonism with foreign imperialists for economic reasons is no sign of progressiveness of theirs. These two are different expressions of the same complex contradiction between a developing imperialist country and traditional imperialist countries. (Free translation from a speech of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, 1960)

That the resurgent nationalist countries would play a very significant role in the arena of international politics was also foreseen by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**—as far back as in 1959-60—when he characterised the existing contradiction between the newly independent nationalist countries and imperialism on the one hand and the socialist camp on the other as the fifth contradiction, in addition to the four contradictions propounded by Lenin.

He then pointed out that even if anybody objects to characterising the nature of the contradiction between the newly independent bourgeois nationalist countries and imperialism on the one hand and the socialist camp on the other as the

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Whatever be the Diplomatic Relation A Socialist Country Cannot Sacrifice Revolutionary Politics

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fifth contradiction in addition to the four major propounded by Lenin, this contradiction must be recognised as the most significant phenomenon, as important as to be a fifth contradiction influencing the afore-said four major contradictions governing the present day international politics. Because, the contradiction that has appeared centring round the emergence of these newly independent resurgent nationalist countries cannot be grouped under the same category as of the contradiction between imperialism and the national liberation struggles.

Next, we come to the pertinent question: what should be the attitude of a socialist country to these newly independent nationalist countries at different stages of their development, or, in other words, what will be the guiding policy of the communist leadership of a socialist country on the question of handling the contradiction between them and these countries on the one hand and between these countries and the world capitalist-imperialist camp on the other hand.

One should agree that the said leadership must have a correct understanding about the nature of the fifth contradiction that we have mentioned earlier and it must be guided by the revolutionary significance of the policy of peaceful co-existence which is a complex revolutionary means to accelerate the course of revolutionary struggles in the capitalist countries and of the anti-imperialist liberation struggles in the colonies and semi-colonies, in all matters relating to their relation with these newly independent nationalist countries. Moreover, the object of pursuance of the policy of peaceful co-existence is the maintenance of world peace and putting an effective check so that the imperialists cannot interfere in the internal

affairs of any of these countries, under any pretext whatsoever.

Hence, a socialist country, as it just will enter, if necessary, into any sort of agreement—economic or military—with these countries in the State level and provide all sorts of help to them, with the object of protecting them from imperialist intervention and help ensure thereby the world peace, isolating the imperialist powers from the people, with an eye to strengthening their revolutionary movement, so too, it must not do anything that may help create confusion of any sort regarding the class character and the growing imperialist features of the ruling national bourgeoisie among the peoples of these countries.

To be more specific, the communist leadership of a socialist country, while they provide all sorts of aids to these resurgent nationalist countries, must always remain conscious about the growing features of imperialism and expansionism of the ruling classes of these countries.

So, a socialist State, in accordance with its foreign policy, may enter into agreement—economic or otherwise—with these countries but it must not at the same time fail to highlight the class character of the ruling circles of these countries before the people. Whatever diplomatic relation a socialist State may enter into with such a country, it must never do that by giving up the revolutionary politics. In other words, the cause of revolution and revolutionary politics must always be the focal point guiding all these sorts of moves or activities of a socialist State. Otherwise, the main object of giving aid to them or entering into any sort of agreement or diplomatic relation with these countries is bound to be defeated, resulting ultimately in either of the two extreme trends,

being guided by the politics of exigency, which may lead to appeasement; or on the contrary, it may give birth to a politics of confrontation which reflects the tendency to negate the revolutionary significance of correctly handling the contradictions between these countries and the socialist countries on the one hand and the capitalist-imperialist camp on the other. And in either of the cases it is the imperialist forces who will take the advantage of it.

But what we experience in the case of the Soviet revisionist leadership on the question of its attitude to and relation with the resurgent nationalist countries is something different altogether.

Let alone understanding the nature of the fifth contradiction vis-a-vis its influence on the other four contradictions, it failed even to grasp the nature of the contradiction between these countries and the socialist countries on the one hand and the capitalist imperialist camp on the other. As a consequence, they failed to understand the growing political affinity between some of these countries—as they acquired imperialist features more and more—and the capitalist imperialist camp. Over and above, they took a lopsided view of their anti-imperialist role and falsely characterised their growing antagonism with the imperialist powers in the economic field as “progressive”.

Arch revisionist as it is, it gave up the revolutionary teaching on how to combat capitalism-imperialism and ultimately overthrow it through revolution and transformed instead the anti-capitalist-imperialist struggle into a mere job of occasionally criticising them and developed the queer revisionist thesis of establishing the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system through economic

competition. It claimed to have established this superiority before the peoples of these countries by giving aids (on easier terms than that offered by the capitalist-imperialists) and as a consequence of this the peoples of these resurgent nationalist countries, they hoped, would become gradually more attracted to socialism and socialist system.

This would then, according to their thesis, ensure the possibility of ‘non-capitalist’ ‘peaceful’ transition to socialism by transforming the bourgeois parliament into an “instrument of people’s will”.

But what actually happened in reality? Such aids, devoid as these are of any revolutionary aim, did not only fail to fulfil the objects we elaborated earlier, but helped exclusively the ruling bourgeoisie of these countries to strengthen their capitalist economy and consolidate their capitalist exploitation and rule over the peoples of these countries by suppressing their revolutionary movements.

Moreover, the Soviet leadership, arch revisionist as it is, could not grasp the Leninist teaching that ‘imperialism generates war’ and revised it creating the false idea that the contradiction between ‘capitalism and socialism is responsible for war.’ Being victim of this idea and of nuclear war phobia as well, it degraded the policy of peaceful co-existence into the policy of capitulation and started giving worst type of undue concessions to the imperialists, particularly the US imperialist.

Again, like everything else, revisionism too does not remain at the same position for ever. So, while trotting the path of revisionism, it began with capitulation to the imperialists and at a later period it reached a stage, when the Soviet revisionist leadership adopted the policy of expanding its sphere of influence in collusion with US imperialists. And in conformity

with its latest design of extending its sphere of influence or hegemony, so to say, the present Soviet revisionist leadership headed by Brezhnev, trampling all the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and revolution, has of late invented a ‘novel’ thesis of non-capitalist peaceful transition to socialism in different resurgent nationalist countries by participating in the national Governments along with the national bourgeoisie. And with this end in view it bribe, on the one hand the ruling bourgeoisie in different countries by providing them with different types of aids and does not hesitate on the other hand to intervene either directly or indirectly through its allies in the internal affairs of the peoples even of these countries, without paying least respect to the revolutionary significance of the policy of peaceful co-existence which provides the guarantee to the peoples in all countries to determine their own destiny without any foreign interference. So their latest thesis of ‘National Democratic Revolution which has degraded the Leninist theory of revolution to ‘revolution by coup d’etat’ reminds us of the ‘theory of export of revolution’ of the Trotskyites.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the greatest Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era, taught us an historic lesson in this regard. **Comrade Ghosh** observed that ‘after the exposure of real face of social democratic forces in Europe, social democracy was working as a definite trend in the communist movement for a long time. Modern revisionism, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** said, is nothing but an outward manifestation of that social democratic trend in the communist movement. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** further pointed out that Trotskyism, after its virtual death as a force to reckon with in the political movement, is also

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Stop This Provincial Frenzy Our Party Has Plunged With All Its Resources To Face The Challenge

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Addressing the people of the State, the statement emphatically states that whatever may be the gravity of their sufferings, the root cause of these grave problems lies precisely in the very socio-economic system prevalent in the country as a whole and more particularly in the fact that due to inherent weakness of the leadership of our freedom struggle the task of social and cultural revolution could not be completed to the detriment of democratisation of the society. While speaking about the fast increasing poverty and destitution of the toiling people of Assam, the State Committee of the Party observes that it is a common knowledge that due to the ruthless exploitation of the capitalist class, not only simple living has become almost impossible but also total uncertainty haunts the toiling people in all the capitalist countries of the world and that the exploiting capitalist class and the political parties subservient to them are everywhere trying to incite one section of the toiling people against another so as to save themselves from the united resistance of the toiling people. It can never be forgotten that India is a capitalist country and Assam is its constituent State. Therefore all the concomitant evils and problems arising out of the capitalist system, have been increasingly manifesting themselves throughout the country today and obviously Assam is not an exception to this general phenomenon. It is therefore clear to all that emancipation from the exploitation and rule of the capitalist class is the first and the foremost issue before the toiling people of the country. Needless to emphasise that for this purpose, complete unity amongst the toiling people of the country, residing in different provinces, irrespective of caste, creed, language and religion, is indispensable. We therefore appeal to the people

of the State, who are faced with different types of burning problems, to look at them from this angle".

In this connection dealing briefly about the relevant issues of nations, nationalities and national oppression, the State committee of the Party reminds the people of the State that "due to the compromising bourgeois leadership over the national independence struggle and its subsequent assumption of State power, process of formation of a compact nation arising out of the complete merger of all the nationalities could not be fully exhausted and as its inevitable consequence parochialism, regionalism, provincialism, communalism and national oppression, i.e. oppression of weaker nationalities by the dominant nationality not only persist, but are being given fresh impetus and encouragement by the ruling bourgeois class. It should therefore never be forgotten that the unfinished task of social and cultural revolution should be incorporated within the programme of a Socialist Revolution as a means to solve these problems once for all.

In this context, dealing with the question of future of Assamese language and its status, about which a wholly unwarranted but motivated hue and cry has been raised by the reactionary circle the state committee of the party states that "in this connection we would like to tell our people that Assamese language is much developed today, and it is being further developed. Moreover, its status as the principal language of the state has been acknowledged by all. Secondly, it is also noteworthy that in the final analysis even in terms of linguistic aspiration or in terms of economic interests, there is no fundamental conflict between different sections of the toiling people. But even if, at a particular juncture of time, this type of problems crop up then

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to be 'Left' do not flinch from taking side with this just and reasonable demand of the people.

Secondly, what have been the performances of the government in tackling the gigantic task of rushing rescue and relief to the millions of marooned people? Enormity of a problem demands a really titanic effort, if the government is moved by the minimum sense of responsibility to the people. But has the government moved to garner and

that can be solved by the people themselves, in a climate of communal peace and harmony, remaining firmly united under the banner of democratic movement and thus keeping themselves free from the pernicious influence of the bourgeoisie. We would like to stress also that solution of these problems will be further complicated as a result of opposite behaviour, because everybody knows that extremism and intolerance will further breed extremism and intolerance. It is also our firm belief that united democratic mass movement comprising all section of the people of Assam irrespective of race, language and religion, is the best conceivable guarantee not only for the continued retention of the existing status of Assamese language as the principal language of the state but also for strengthening the struggle for anti-capitalist socialist revolution of our country.

"Under the circumstances, we fervently appeal to the people of our state—whatever may be the stiffness of the problems with which we are confronted today, try to solve them keeping in mind the final goal of anti-capitalist socialist revolution and for that, firmly resist the attempt of the reactionaries to incite people against people".

coordinate maximum amount of people's initiatives and efforts possible in the given situation by responding to the insistent demands of the opposition parties including our Party for forming All Party Relief Committees at all levels down to the block level? The answer is astonishingly in the negative.

Astonishing, because it is wide apart from the posture the government is taking in the public. The Chief Minister Mr. Jyoti Basu is always harping on the point that the disaster is of unprecedented magnitude and dimesion. What is the purpose of harping on this point verging almost on a note of despair when it spurns the offer of cooperation from opposition parties including our Party for really building up gigantic and coordinated efforts? Can a genuine consciousness about the enormity of problem fit in with such a casual attitude? Is it not then reduced to a mere cover for shirking responsibility to millions of flood victims—pushing them to a state of resignation to their lot by cleverly playing up with the enormity of the problem? Does not the so-called logic of the 'Left Front' Government and more specifically of the Chief Minister reach the absurd limit that because a problem is big it also defies a most efficient, responsible and speediest discharge of duties? Otherwise, how these specimens of the government's way of handling relief and rescue operations, which we quote from a daily (Statesman) of 3rd October, can happen at all?

"Marooned by 10 to 20 ft of flood water for nearly six days about 300,000 people in the town and its fringes are yet to receive outside help. In a state of near hysteria, people on roof tops and varandahs shout for food, drinking water and fuel.

With the water receding, the town seems to be in the grip of a cholera epidemic". This is about Nabadwip town of Nadia district. Both the Additional District Magistrate and the District Magistrate admit that 'very little' could be done in the form of relief and rescue operations and the DM wonders as to why food is not coming even now when trains have 'started running.'

Statesman is not in the list of 'conspirators' who, according to the Chief Minister and CPI(M) leadership, are after the government. But even if anybody has any doubt, that will be allayed when no less a person than Mr. Bhakti Bhusan Mondal, Minister for Co-operation in the 'Left Front' Government, after reaching Birbhum district town Suri on 2nd October said that 'no relief has arrived in the district' so far and requests the Chief Minister to send the same by air.'

Such reports about large tracts of areas in Midnapur, Burdwan, Howrah, Hooghly, Murshidabad, Bankura etc still remaining untouched by government's relief and rescue operations are coming in the dailies, and we have positive and first hand informations about the veracity of these informations.

Thirdly, let alone this gross failure and incompetence coupled with lack of a really serious and responsible attitude, what is most astounding is the government's deliberate underplaying of the death toll in the districts. When the Chief Minister himself tells the Press that his government is yet to know the exact number of marooned people, when large tracts of areas in twelve districts remain untouched by government relief machinery, they are however confidently giving out the figure of

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On The Eve Of All India Meet Of U T U C (Lenin Sarani)

The Sixteenth Session of the All India United Trades Union Congress (Lenin Sarani) is scheduled to take place in Patna, Bihar. It is a significant event and is taking place at a crucial moment of the working class movement of our country.

The condition of the working class in India, not to speak of any improvement, has gone down considerably during the long spell of Congress rule. With the mounting crisis within the capitalist productive system, Congress which had been the ruling party at the Centre for long thirty years imposed restrictions one after another on the legitimate democratic movements of the working people so as to defend aggregate interest of the capitalist class and ensure an unbridled exploitation. Lock-out, lay-off, closure, loss of employment, steady erosion in wages and incomes due to continuous price spiralling, fraudulent compilation of price index, unfair labour practices and vindictive attitude to the workers have become the common experiences in the life of the working people in our country.

The situation came to a head on the eve of the Emergency when the working people groaning under grinding wheel of capitalist exploitation were giving expression to their accumulated anger and discontent in heroic struggles like the historic Railway Strike and waves of movements. In a bid to crush the rising tide of working people's militant movements and struggles, the Indira regime thrust upon the people a most authoritarian rule, with the fullest support and approval of the monopolists. But crisis-ridden capitalism cannot hope to survive simply on the point of bayonet. It requires for its survival the support and shrewd assistance from the forces of compromise between labour and capital—the social democratic parties and organisations—at this hour of its crisis. These forces remain within the ranks of the working class movement and play the role of the last prop for

capitalist exploitation. In all these glorious movements of the working people these forces posing as the champions of their cause did everything for arresting them within the narrow confines of sporadic and disjointed trade union struggles and opposed every attempt on the part of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) to bring bigger sweep and deeper content of a class battle. They were showing by all this their fidelity to the basic interest of capitalist class rule and thereby earning the leverage with and trustworthiness of the ruling class in parliamentary careerism. The bourgeoisie rewarded them but the cause of the working class was the casualty.

A change in tactics of the ruling capitalist class was to follow and it came at the last parliamentary and assembly polls in 1977. The attempt by the bourgeoisie to install two-party parliamentary system both at the Centre and in the states, with those parties who have won their favour and trust, with a view to containing militant movement of the working people by defending the so-called 'law and order' as Congress and INTUC have been doing these long years is clear as daylight in the political field. In this bourgeois design, the bourgeoisie's choice falls not only on the branded bourgeois parties but on parties like CPI(M) which can place at the disposal of the ruling class the services of their big trade union wing CITU and the peasant and other mass fronts. The working people are learning the bitter political lesson that the change they so eagerly sought for through change of governments in a capitalist State and that too at the hour of its worst crisis has not only not come but the present regime, whatever may be the differences in

the colour of flag and vocabulary of the different parties now in the governments of the states and the Centre, is no less oppressive and authoritarian in dealing with their just and legitimate movements. The series of events from Swadeshi Mill at Kanpur, Panthnagar, both in U.P., Bailadilla in Madhya Pradesh, Bokaro in Bihar to Santaldih in West Bengal point unmistakably to this hard reality.

The trade union wings of these parties in power from INTUC, BMS down to CITU all are moving hand in glove with the capitalist class despite their mutual contentions and competitions in the trade union field for bigger share in government and class patronage. The common object of all these political forces and their trade union arms has been to defend the capitalist system by diverting the natural course of class struggle to the narrow confine of reforms and legalism. Thus while the Janata Government at the Centre is trying to translate the desire of the capitalists through its industrial policy and various measures, the labour aristocracy of these trade unions gives it the shrewd support and assistance just on the model of its counterparts in West European countries. The bourgeoisie in our country has taken up for adoption the model of West European capitalist countries to reduce the trade union movement to mere appendage to the class system. It is roping in the support of the leadership of those trade unions which the workers once thought to be of Left and militant character because of their pseudo-revolutionary postures and phrase mongering.

The government at the Centre is frantically trying to bring wage freeze through the back door under the cover of 'income and wages policy'. It has sensed the strong reaction of the working people after the Boothalingam Report. It

is now manipulating the support of the so-called big trade unions in exchange of distribution of privileges and patronage. The Central Government has virtually denied wage settlements long overdue and is trying to foist 'set guideline' on wage negotiations. This 'guideline' decided by the government with the help of the 'friendly' trade union bosses will be a noose round the neck of freedom of negotiations and the trade union movement in general. The government has also brought a new Industrial Relations Bill in the parliament the very object of which is to introduce for the first time administrative interference into the internal functioning of the trade union bodies and for virtual ban on strike. The governments' declaration of minimum bonus after much bungling but without removing even the restrictions put on it by Emergency measures and the manipulated withdrawal of the proposed strike on 28th June in the Public Sector bodies and undertaking with the help and assistance of the trade union bosses of CITU and others not only reveals the ulterior motive of the government but points to the source of strength it is depending upon. CITU, AITUC and others have proved to be the accomplices in the design of the government by not responding to the insistent appeal of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) for building up a united mighty movement of the working people. This is the reason why they are also trying to corner UTUC (Lenin Sarani) by every possible means. But the revolutionary trend in the working class movement can not be stalled. It must find, as it is actually finding, its expression in every forum and field of struggle.

The great dividing line in the working class movement today is, therefore, between the forces that UTUC (Lenin Sarani) represents in rallying the working people on the broadest platform of struggling unity against the capitalist onslaughts

that are coming with the ultimate object of overthrowing the hated capitalist class rule and the forces who are defending the perpetuation of this class rule by their crafty deals with and assistance to the bourgeoisie.

UTUC (Lenin Sarani) carries the great revolutionary thoughts and teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, one of the founder architects and former President of this organisation, the great leader of the proletariat and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era.

It is the ringing call of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** to the working class of our country not to arrest their march in economism opportunism which is the other name of trade union struggles conducted by the revisionist big trade unions and which is eating into the very vitals of the struggle of the working class but to place, instead, the objective of transforming their trade union organisation as the 'School of Communism' as also to use their day-to-day struggle as means for developing their alternative political power by which alone they can overthrow this exploitative capitalist order.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught the working class the great revolutionary lesson that their emancipation from capitalist bondage cannot come in isolation leaving the capitalist exploitative system intact but it is to be earned for the whole society by the revolutionary alliance of the proletariat with other exploited strata. That is why their struggle is a part and parcel of the struggles of other exploited masses and they cannot remain indifferent to those struggles, cannot be apathetic to country's politics and its twist and turns. As a vanguard class in the coming revolution they are to play due historic role to hasten the doom of the capitalist system.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has reminded the working class of the great

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Indian Bourgeoisie Championed Non-Aligned Movement In Its Bid To Satisfy The Aspiration Of A Growing Imperialist Country

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working as another trend or bent of mind in the communist movement. **Comrade Ghosh** also observed that the theory of formation of national democratic Governments along with the national bourgeoisie in different capitalist countries as means to non-capitalist and peaceful transition to socialism is nothing but a peculiar fusion of these two trends of social democracy and Trotskyism in communist movement.

So, as the theory of the Soviet revisionist leadership—"transform parliament into an instrument of people's will"—is a clear expression of the extreme trend of unadulterated social democracy, so also the theory of implanting revolution by destroying the old parliamentary democratic setup by combining with the military, bureaucracy, and the national bourgeoisie in different capitalist countries is a manifestation of the conspiratorial bent of mind of Trotskyism.

Does not one find in this game of the Soviet revisionist leadership the semblance of the design of cash and violence that the imperialists most often adopt to establish their control and domination over weak nations?

Most often the Soviet revisionist leadership tries to pose itself as the champion of revolutionary struggles and anti-imperialist national liberation struggles of the people. And what one experiences in reality is just the opposite. When it is the duty of the leadership of a socialist country to enforce the policy of peaceful co-existence on the imperialists so that they may be prevented from interfering into the internal affairs of other countries, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet union, with the object of expanding its sphere of influence, is becoming more and more engaged in the nefarious game of interference, and that too in a

most naked manner, into the internal affairs of other countries on the plea of either liberating them from imperialist colonial oppression or protecting their independence and sovereignty. One may name a number of countries from West Asia and Africa which bear glaring testimony to this game of naked interference by the Soviet revisionist leadership.

And the consequence of such a game is quite obvious to all. It is increasingly giving birth to anti-Sovietism even in countries which the other day considered the USSR as their friend.

It is the imperialist powers, against whom most often the Soviet revisionist leadership is found to be highly vocal, who are reaping the dividend out of this.

So, it is not at all astonishing that these countries will express their apprehension about Soviet hegemonism and equate it with imperialism. The deliberations of the last non-aligned conference of course bear ample evidence to such apprehensions.

Once the resurgent nationalist countries were apprehensive of only the imperialist powers for genuine reasons. But some of them are now no less apprehensive of the Soviet revisionist leadership whose attempts to increase its sphere of influence are as vivid as anything. Perhaps they would find an identity in the tone of Mr. Rajaratnam the Foreign Minister of Singapore in the last conference. In his speech he gave statistics to show that since the world war third world countries were getting embroiled in localized conflicts, sometimes aided by their super power patrons. At least 33 wars were fought for varying durations—all of them in third world countries—since 1945. More important, 25 million lives were lost in these wars which involved 80 third world nations, he said.

He urged the non-aligned nations to realize that the major powers were progressively exploiting third world nations to wage their wars for influence and domination.

(Statesman, 29.7.78)

But what is really a matter of serious concern to the freedom loving people of the world is the fact that anti-Sovietism has not remained restricted to criticism of the Soviet revisionist leadership. When one expects to find the peoples of these resurgent nationalist countries attracted more and more toward socialism, the anti-Soviet reaction to a certain extent is creating an apathy towards the noble ideals of socialism and communism among them. When it is expected that the imperialists will become isolated more and more, thanks to the activities of the Soviet revisionist leadership and their way of handling the contradiction between the resurgent nationalist countries and the imperialist camp that the anti-imperialist fighting fervour of the peoples of these countries are becoming more and more diluted. To a revolutionary, to the freedom loving people, such a situation is no doubt alarming.

So, we urge the freedom loving people in general all over the world and the peoples of the resurgent nationalist countries in particular to note that between imperialism and anti-imperialist liberation movement on the one hand and between capitalism and anti-capitalist revolution on the other hand, all varieties of revisionism, particularly Soviet revisionism, stand as forces of compromise. It was for this reason that **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** observed that an essential prerequisite for the victory of liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles today was to give complete defeat to all varieties of revisionism, particularly the Soviet revisionism.

Let us now throw some light on the role, and its underlying significance, that India played in the last Foreign Ministers' Conference.

From the Press reports it appeared that Mr. Atal Behari Bajpai, the Foreign Minister of India, played the 'saviour' in the last conference. His hectic rounds of diplomatic contacts, as reported in the Press, worked effectively to defuse the heat generated at times in the acrimonious exchanges between representatives from some of the countries. For his efforts to defuse the ideological conflict between the rival factions which at times was reported to have threatened to wreck the conference, Mr. Bajpai earned the name of "honest broker" from some quarters.

Now, one must however note that the role, which Mr. Bajpai played in the last conference, was not that of an individual, but it simply manifested the aims and objects of the aspirant Indian bourgeoisie of whom Mr. Bajpai was no doubt a trusted representative.

At the very outset one must keep in mind that India was one of those non-aligned countries which played an important role, along with Egypt, Indonesia and Yugoslavia, in organising the non-aligned movement. The Indian bourgeoisie, after coming to political power, with the object of developing and consolidating their economy in the capitalist path like other resurgent nationalist countries of Africa and Asia, adopted for objective reasons the policy of non-alignment and helped to organise the non-aligned movement. Their prime object however was to develop the capitalist economy by gaining from both the camps without formally identifying with either of them. Our Party, guided by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat, on many occasions in the past critically analysed this role of the Indian bourgeoisie and

observed that the policy adopted by India not to join either of the camps enhanced her bargaining power and that "The Indian bourgeoisie is utilising its bargaining power to the utmost to secure maximum help from each of the two camps in its drive to develop India as a powerful capitalist country in the shortest possible time". (India's policy of non-alignment, Socialist Unity)

Now, India of today is not the same as that of the fifties. At that time, just after gaining Independence from the imperialist yoke, she was no doubt anti-imperialist and anti-colonial to a certain extent. The long standing anti-imperialist tradition of her people also played no less an important role to help maintain her the then anti-colonial and anti-imperialist stand. But in the mean time much water has flowed down the Ganges. And the ruling bourgeoisie, by successfully pursuing the non-aligned policy, adopted the manoeuvring tactics of leaning towards either the USSR or the USA, as and when necessary, thus gaining help from both the camps; and by utilising the indigenous resources, it has developed and consolidated its capitalist economy to a great extent. Though she is still backward in the yardstick of capitalist development in comparison to Western metropolitan capitalist countries, yet one must not fail to note that she has already given birth to finance capital which is being exported to some of the Afro-Asian countries, and has invested in their markets. She is one of the resurgent nationalist countries which has already emerged as an imperialist power, though weak compared to Western imperialist powers. The reason underlying her weakness is mainly the crisis of market. At present the capitalist market is very much contracted and still now

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it is being controlled by the traditional imperialist powers leaving very little scope for India to penetrate into this already contracted capitalist market.

So, what the aspirant Indian bourgeoisie needs at the moment to advance its imperialistic aims and designs is a suitable market where it can export and invest its capital. As a matter of fact, it has already made some inroad in this regard into the market of the Afro-Asian countries.

So far as Indian bourgeoisie is concerned it feels at the present moment a growing need to oppose the Western imperialist powers in the economic field in its bid to consolidate and strengthen its own imperialist interest. This particular urge to oppose Western imperialism with a view to creating an avenue in the world market can be more fruitful if it can operate in various blocs and alliances with the non-aligned countries which would itself strengthen India's position to a large extent. Naturally, the Indian bourgeoisie can ill-afford to welcome a situation where the so-called non-aligned movement lands into a fiasco. Judged in this context it becomes clear why the Indian representative played such hectic and important role in this conference and with what object.

It is a fact that the Indian bourgeoisie, while it pursues a policy of non-alignment, has been found at times to show either a pro-Soviet, or pro-USA stance. This has been often misunderstood by many—some labeled it a Soviet stooge and some others called it an American satellite. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, an outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinker of the era, remarked, while exposing this erroneous characterisation, that the Indian ruling class was neither a stooge of the Soviet revisionist leadership nor that of the US imperialists. It is the aspirant bourgeoisie which has an ambition to develop its economy into a power

Indian Bourgeoisie Can ill Afford A Situation Where The Non-Aligned Movement Suffers A Setback

ful capitalist economy by utilising all possible means and resources that it could avail of.

It is a fact that depending upon a particular national and international situation it is found at times to adopt the manoeuvring tactics to incline either to the Soviet Union or the USA, and at times it may even be found to give concessions to either of them but that too is done with the ultimate object of achieving the independent growth of its own capitalist economy.

Recent incidents particularly the role it has played in the last Foreign Ministers' Conference at Belgrade will further confirm the characterisation of the Indian bourgeoisie, as was done by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. In the past, one found this aspirant bourgeoisie to play between the contradiction existing between the USSR and the USA and earn maximum gain that way. The Sino-Soviet dispute has broadened the scope for it. It is now trying to handle even the contradiction existing between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. While maintaining a good diplomatic relation and hobnobbing with the Soviet Union, it is now seen to make serious efforts to improve its business and diplomatic relation with China, being dictated by its specific class desire.

At present we find it to try to handle on the one hand the contradictions existing among the two superpowers and China and earn maximum dividend out of it and on the other hand to seriously endeavour to utilise the market of the non-aligned group of countries as a base in their bid to emerge as a strong imperialist power in the world side by side with the traditional imperialist powers of today.

So it is for its own class interest and fulfilling

its imperialist design that it speaks strongly for preserving the unity and separate identity of the non-aligned group of countries and tries to pose itself as the 'champion' of the cause of non-aligned countries and the leader of the non-aligned movement.

The tone of Mr. Bajpai in the last conference was naturally quite in conformity with this aim and object of the ruling class of India.

Apprehending that an issue of dispute brought within the non-aligned movement might threaten their interest, Mr. Bajpai liked to resist it on the plea that it would 'endanger' the unity. So he was heard to say: "We should resist the temptation of highlighting issues that divide us and concentrate more on matters that impart a greater sense of unity among the members and lead to wider and meaningful co-operation". (The Statesman, 24.8.78)

It was for this reason that Mr. Bajpai carefully avoided getting involved in any controversial issue. In his speech at the plenary session he did not make any reference to even the French and Belgian military presence in Zaire, which the representatives from most of the countries did.

Apart from the fact that he did not desire to be involved in any controversy, there were other reasons too. Just as the pragmatic interest to gain from imperialist helps and aids arrested him from referring to anything that might go against the imperialist powers so also the growing political akinness between the aspirant Indian bourgeoisie and the imperialist camp forbade him to participate in any anti-imperialist debates and discussions.

Moreover, the aspirant Indian bourgeoisie understands it very well that if these non-aligned countries become committed to a particular

ideology or ideologies then that will create increasingly greater hurdles for them to find foothold in their markets. So Mr. Bajpai, the accredited representative of the aspiring Indian bourgeoisie, desired to have a non-aligned movement free even from ideology. He remarked: "It is our belief that the non-aligned movement should not be diverted in any particular direction. Nor should it subserve the needs of a particular ideology." (Ibid)

A notable feature that is receiving more emphasis of late in the non-aligned conference will no doubt be of much help to the ruling bourgeoisie of our country in realising their object of economically exploiting the peoples of these countries.

Recently, in the non-aligned conferences the participating countries are found to increasingly reflect a tone of economic co-operation between themselves. The last Foreign Ministers' Conference also adopted a programme for the said economic co-operation.

Normally one has nothing to say against such programmes of economic co-operation provided of course no particular party tries to realise some undue privilege or gains at the cost of others' interest. But one can easily grasp the point that the programme of such co-operation between capitalist countries is bound to create a position where the country or countries having a relatively developed economy will dominate over others. So, the Indian bourgeoisie, with its economy relatively more developed than that of many of the non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa, can expect to gain much from such programmes of economic co-operation.

One can therefore easily grasp the logic behind what was observed by the Statesman, a daily paper under the control

of a big and powerful monopoly house, and working as a strong force behind the present ruling Janata Party. According to the Statesman (August 1, 1978): "...the entire movement is at the cross-roads, lacking both cohesion and credibility and raising serious questions about its future utility". But why? Because it claims that "...colonialism and cold war—the basic factors that led to the first Bandung Conference...ceased to be matters of global concern." So what is the way out? It is observed that the last Colombo Conference "made a brave attempt to cope with the challenge of this disappearing raison d'être by trying to convert the forum into an instrument of collective growth. A new international economic order was mooted, and constructive schemes outlined for the creation of a funding bank for joint industrial ventures, pricing agreements and for consortia for the sale of raw materials." They therefore claimed: "Had these plans succeeded or even been followed up seriously, the third world could today have claimed for itself a positive role in the improvement of living conditions for a vast number of people."

So, from what we have discussed so long, one may note a subtle distinction between the role and attitude of the Indian bourgeoisie towards the non-aligned movement in its formative years and that at present. In the past, they kept themselves in the movement with the prime object of developing and consolidating their economy in the capitalist path, by taking aids from both the camps. Still now this object is there. But that apart, another aim is gradually becoming prominent at present. With the attainment imperialist features more and more, they now not only look to these non-aligned Afro-Asian countries as prospective markets for their capitalist economy, but also hope to use this non-aligned group of countries as a lever in their bid to emerge as a strong imperialist force.

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Our Party Has Plunged With All Its Resources To Face The Challenge

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death as 256 or near about. But how are they getting these figures? Who is supplying them with these figures? Is it the local administration who could not reach even the marooned people after even six days? The government's laborious exercise to underplay the death toll is palpable. But even a minister, Mr. Bhakti Bhusan Mondal, had to admit on arriving at Suri that about 1000 villagers in Bedipur char on the bank of Ajoy were washed away and little is known about 3000 people living on a delta between Ajoy and Hinglow. Mr. Mondal also informed that at least 1000 people had died at Khairashol. These reports are about only a part of Birbhum district but even the figures when added up come many times the official figures.

Fourthly, the government complaints about lack of police personnel but how is it that the same government engages hundreds of police personnels in College and University Campuses to beat the students? The government says that they are in need of speed boats but how is it that about thirty six such boats are being deployed in Marichjhanpi, in Sunderbans to hound out the Dandak refugees? About 79 battalions of army and para-military men have been pressed into service, it is now said. But why they were not pressed into service with the same speed and efficiency as can be seen when they used to crush peoples' movement?

Fifthly, the government talks of tackling the situation on a war footing. If it means what it says then what stood in the way of requisitioning hundreds of idle boats now floating on the Ganges, and why the waiting for the boats to reach from London?

Sixthly, we cannot but note with consternation that in such a grave situation and humanitarian cause,

the 'Left Front' Government has not only not been able to set up a minimum democratic norm and ethics, they even failed to maintain the norm which the nationalist leadership attained once during the freedom movement in relief works. People are experiencing that this new regime of 'Left Front' Government has not only failed to make any break with the powerful vested interests that have grown over the years around floods but has given further fillip to it under sophistications and manoeuvres.

Seventhly, the profiteer-blackmarketeer-hoarder's anti-people clique is fully exploiting the situation by minting speculative profits. Already price of essential commodities like coaking coal, kerosene, edible oil, rice, green vegetables, grams etc. have gone out of the reach of common people's purchasing power. The only sensible step of the government is to save the people from the greed of the profiteers is to introduce state trading on all these essential items of consumption. But instead of taking this most natural course, CPI(M) leadership is diverting the people's attention and initiative to stunt politics of pressurising the retailers and petty traders. The inevitable outcome is that these essential articles are vanishing from the market and is creating exactly the situation most advantageous to the wholesalers blackmarketeers combine.

Faced with this situation, the party of the revolutionary proletariat, the SUCI, has plunged with all the resources at its command into this challenging task. The party has organised squads for relief and rescue of flood victims in all the worst affected districts—Midnapur, Howrah, Hooghly, Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan, Murshidabad, Maldah, Calcutta suburbs etc.

On The Eve of All India Meet Of UTUC (Lenin Sarani)

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revolutionary lesson that the proletariates who win their emancipation are not those who remain prisoners to bourgeois vile culture, self-seeking mentality and rustic habits but are those who, not merely in phrase-mongering and slogan shoutings but in their personal behaviours and life-style, in ethical-moral standard, in cultural tone and taste have acquired actually the higher and nobler proletarian ideology and culture. Revolutionary preparation means therefore the struggle to free themselves from all traces and traits of personal property mental complex and transformation of the very outlook, way of thinking, life-styles, and behaviours, the very aims and objects of life, for those who wish to join the great historic struggle for emancipation of the society. In order to gain a big thing we are to be real big. This is the essence of

Announcement

We regret that the publication of this issue has been delayed for reasons beyond our control.

There will be no publication of the issue dated 15. 10. 78 since the press will remain closed for the Puja holidays.

CPI(M) workers were set against us to create all conceivable obstructions and even physical assaults were resorted to by them. The people are the greatest resources and our Party has given them the call to stand up manly to this situation. Our Party is carrying a new message to the millions and is also at the same time drawing on the inexhaustible fund of love and good will the people have for the Party. Surely it is a greatly rewarding experience for our Party to be with the people at this gravest hour of their distress and struggle.

the revolutionary thoughts and teachings of the great teacher of the proletariat, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, and in the Coming Conference. Though he will be for the first time physically absent, this revolutionary message will demand from all of us to prove ourselves to be the able standard bearers.

The name and along with it the message behind the name of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) is reaching far and wide. Its name, flag, organisation, style of movement, goal and objective of movement are the ones for which the working people have been long in expectation. That is why to strengthen this orga-

nisation is to strengthen the revolutionary trend within the working class movement, to strengthen the struggle of the working people to bring an end to capitalist slavery.

For this new dawn to reach, it is the bounden duty of the working people of our country to rally behind the struggling banner of UTUC (Lenin Sarani). We call upon millions of working people in fields and factories to extend all kinds of help and support towards the all round success of the coming All-India Conference of UTUC (Lenin Sarani). Let it be a momentous event in the working class movement of our country.

Non Aligned Conference —A Review

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If we miss this crucial point, then we will fail not only to understand the role of the Indian Foreign Minister in Belgrade, but also to make a correct objective assessment of the aim and object of the aspirant ruling bourgeoisie of our country. In this connection we would like to highlight once again what we have mentioned earlier. In general, the leadership of a socialist country may enter into diplomatic or trade relation, or any sort of agreement or pact whatsoever, with the aspirant bourgeoisie of a country like that of India. But while maintaining this sort of relation they must not fail for a moment even to expose the class character and imperialistic aspirations and desires of the ruling bourgeoisie of these countries before the people of the world in general and the peoples of these countries in particular.

The people have had to pay much for the utter failure of the Soviet revisionist leadership in

correctly handling its relation with these countries. We hope others would draw a lesson from it and act accordingly.

Lastly, those parties which move under the signboard of communism and which still consider a section of the Indian bourgeoisie to be progressive and an ally, may be a vacillating ally, of their so-called People's Democratic or National Democratic Revolution should draw lesson also from this role of the Indian bourgeoisie in the last Belgrade Conference which clearly reveals its intense desire to be the leader of the non-aligned movement by acquiring a more and more imperialist character while continuing to oppose the powerful Western imperialism in the economic field.

This non-aligned conference is another serious pointer to the urgent task of mobilising our people for the anti-capitalist socialist revolution along the path shown by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** the great leader of the proletariat.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE